

JPRS-KAR-87-054

9 November 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Asia**

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**Korea**

# East Asia Korea

JPRS-KAR-87-054

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9 NOVEMBER 1987

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**ROK Daily Notes Reunion Activities of Hong Kong Red Cross Office**

1611134 Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean  
10 Oct 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Activities of the Hong Kong Office of the International Committee of the Red Cross—We Hope the Hitherto-Cut Road to Home Visits Will Open Soon"]

[Text] The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on 6 October established its Hong Kong office to arrange for the reunion of separated families in the East Asian region, including those between North and South Korea and those between Communist China and Taiwan. This is very good news to us, and we cannot help expressing our respect once again for the expansion of the humanitarian service network of the ICRC and its activities. We remember the scenes of the family reunion in Pyongyang transmitted to Seoul at 1020 hours on 21 September 1985 in which emotional voices such as these were heard: "My sister, is this not a dream? I am glad you are still alive"; "Song-yop, oh, you are really Song-yop"; "My Brother, Brother Hangsok"; and "Chang-sok, it has been such a long time."

The 83-year-old mother in Seoul could not recognize the voice of her 54-year-old son who, when he came from the North to Seoul, said to her, "Mother." The mother in her eighties was hard of hearing. Her eyesight was weak, as well. She could hardly hear her son's words, yet she could readily recognize him. When she met her son, she sat motionless, stupefied, not even crying, as if she had forgotten how to cry. The son cried and writhed in desperate agony.

Watching these emotional scenes that occurred in Pyongyang and Seoul, we also cried. The reunion of flesh and blood in Seoul and Pyongyang after 40 years of division—this was something that 60 million fellow countrymen could not afford to just watch. A brother from the South, who had to leave Pyongyang after the 3-night, 4-day sojourn, gripped his sister's hands tightly and said leaving for the South as he had to, "Let us

promise that when we have a full moon, not only on Chusok, but every month, we will think of each other in the North and the South." On 20 September 1985, Kim Sang-hyop, president of the ROK Red Cross Society, led a party of 150 persons—50 members of the home-visiting group, 50 members of an art troupe, 30 reporters, and 20 support personnel—to the North, and Son Song-pil, head of the North Korean Red Cross, came to the South, leading a party of the same size.

However, despite the fact that it brought praise from those abroad and inscribed a great landmark in the hearts of the 60 million fellow countrymen, the work of exchanging home-visiting groups gives no hope of resuming after the empty lapse of 2 years. Thus, a countless number of those who have so much yearned to see their loved ones—their sons, daughters, and grandchildren—have to leave this world with their desire unsatisfied.

Is the sister almost in her seventies, who promised to think of her brother when they had a full moon every month not just on Chusok, still alive and safe? Is the father in his eighties, who held his son's hand once again and shed tears when his son promised him that he would come to pick him up by car when the country is reunified but had to leave for the South, still hale and healthy?

Great are our hopes for and expectations of the ICRC Hong Kong office in its humanitarian activities so as to expedite our ardent desire expressed by President Kim Sang-hyop, who repeatedly called upon the North to make efforts so that both the Red Cross Societies of the North and South may make efforts to "further widen the narrow pathway opened after 40 years of division."

We urge the North Korean Red Cross Society to regain national conscience and stop such barbarous activities as the sinking of an innocent fishing boat peacefully fishing on the high seas and killing people; to congratulate, together with us, the establishment of the ICRC Hong Kong office; and to open a way to resume the home visits at an early date.

## POLITICAL

### Democratic Justice Party Candidate No Tae-u

#### Road to Democratization

41070001 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
21-23 Sep 87 p 3

[A continuing analysis of four front runners, No and three Kims, by unidentified political reporters of TONG-A ILBO compiled by Yi To-song in a 12-part series: "The Men Aiming at the Supreme Power"]

[Text] (Original editor's note: Less than 3 months remain before the election of the 13th president. Already the race is gradually heating up. Inasmuch as the forthcoming presidential race will mark an important turning point in the political history of Korea, people are vitally interested, as never before, in every move of the runners in this race. The following is a series on panel discussions conducted by TONG-A ILBO political reporters dealing with "everything" about the "front runners for the supreme power," including their past and present.)

#### 29 June Declaration, and a Lone Road to Democratization

"I am now completely naked and have no concern other than following the will of the people." (No said this immediately following his 29 June special declaration.)

"I feel a load off my mind, making me sigh with relief." (No's remark at the national cemetery on 29 June.)

"I feel refreshed and now my drinks taste good," said No at a gathering with local DJP officials from the Chonan area at Restaurant A in Onyang, following his visit to Hyonchungsa Temple on 29 June. Drinking beer with them, No said: "Really we have to be fair; we have nothing to fear."

Those are some of the remarks No Tae-u, the then DJP chairman, poured out as if in soliloquy, following his "29 June declaration," which changed overnight not only the political situation in Korea but also his own political image. While frankly expressing his mixed feelings at that time, he gave a somewhat fretful look.

By contrast, when he arrived at Kimpo Airport on the 19th after completing his visit to the United States and Japan, DJP President No gave an air of confidence and pride.

We feel a sharp change in the political air current in barely 3 months.

If No Tae-u the politician underwent "metamorphosis" with his "29 June declaration" as an occasion, it may be said that his pilgrimage to the United States and Japan has widened his "scope of movement."

Let us proceed with our discussion on the subject of "the 29 June declaration and No Tae-u."

On that day Chairman No was excited all day long. Uncharacteristically, he could not articulate and sometimes uttered words which nobody else could understand.

That was quite natural. As it came to light subsequently, he issued his declaration with a grim resolution "just in case things should go wrong." It was also known belatedly that when the whole family gathered for dinner on that evening, he was tearful.

As it turned out, the "No Tae-u declaration" was a "statement of intent" to run for the presidency on the DJP ticket. In other words, the "29 June declaration" marked a new start for him as a reborn politician.

In fact, until 29 June, No Tae-u had had no distinctive political image. Although he was nominated as presidential candidate at the 10 June DJP convention, many people were skeptical as to whether he has a "territory of his own" within the ruling camp.

That is why when the "29 June declaration" came out, attention was focused on the question of whether or not he "had consulted with President Chon in advance." Some people called his 29 June declaration a "mutant coup" staged by Chairman No. All these views involve, in a narrow sense, his relationship with President Chon, and in a broader sense, President No's place within the ruling camp.

Immediately after his "29 June declaration," President No described his decision calling it "a lonely resolution." But now he has made it clear that "there was no prior consultation with President Chon."

No Tae-u's place within the ruling camp had been rather complicated until 29 June.

It was a question which had two delicate sides. He is widely known as one of the main characters, playing a key role in the "12 December event," which provided decisive momentum for the birth of the present regime. His long-standing intimate relationship with President Chon, which dates back scores of years, is also a well known fact. That is why he had always been on the front as a possible heir. Nevertheless, no one can deny that he had to go through many difficulties until he consolidated his position as presidential candidate.

The day before the scheduled nomination convention on 10 June, there was an inner-circle "ritual" at the Blue House related to the nomination of a presidential candidate. While the meeting proceeded, No became tearful. He must have some "terrible reasons" which no one but he knew.

In fact, in the past 6 years, he had been criticized as being "indecisive" or "weak-kneed." People in some circles even questioned his "credentials."

True, when he was the party chairman, some people criticized him for "failing to air his own views" or "being unable to say his say to the president's men."

On the contrary, according to some opinions, that is exactly what enabled him to issue his "29 June declaration." This is an interesting view.

Recently, No himself explained the position he has taken since the inauguration of the birth of the Fifth Republic in these words: "I never sit idly by. I have devoted myself heart and soul to resolve 'turmoils,' which no government can avoid."

In retrospect, he said, the space between 10 June and the 29 June declaration were the most hectic days for him.

During that period, demonstrations intensified demanding direct election of the president, although he was nominated as presidential candidate in anticipation of an indirect presidential election. In one corner, there was a persistent view warning against an imminent crisis and expressing doubts about the feasibility of holding a presidential election under the current constitution.

In those days there were quite a few developments which suggested the situation in which DJP President No found himself. When the whole country was blanketed by tear gas in the wake of the "10 June" nomination convention, No made unusually grim statements. For instance, during his 20 June press conference, he said: "I will not be reluctant to give up my position as presidential candidate. I am determined to save the situation, even if I have to sacrifice myself like throwing away a worn-out pair of shoes."

It was no accident that on the preceding day (19 June), he met with Kim Pok-tong (president of the Korean Mining Development Corporation), his Military Academy Alumni and brother in law. Pointing out the seriousness of the situation more strongly than anyone else, Kim reportedly told No "to go your own way from now on."

At about the same time, another Military Academy alumni, Chong Ho-yong (the present defense minister), reportedly had intimate contacts with No. A personage of the ruling camp attaches importance to the fact that Chong played an important role in No's decision to issue the "29 June" declaration and that Chong was appointed as defense minister 2 weeks after the declaration.

Foreign dispatches took a similar view. Immediately following the "14 June" cabinet reshuffle, the NEW YORK TIMES commented that the appointment of Chong as defense minister was part of No's efforts to reduce the chance of the military to intervene in politics

and that this action seemed to have something to do with the political position of President Chon and that of DJKP President No. However, it seems that from No's point of view, he found it necessary to get help from Chong in order to consolidate his leadership position within the ruling camp.

There must have been various reasons and motives in deciding to issue the "29 June" declaration. But according to No, what prompted him was his belief in the dictum: "Be ready to die, and you will find the way out." He wrote this motto in Indian ink in his study on the second floor of his home on the evening of 26 June, and his handwriting was made public subsequently.

The "29 June declaration" is inseparable from party chairman No, for it has put him in the political limelight. Nonetheless, it is a political fact that his declaration was nothing more than a "beginning."

Needless to say, the opposition, waked from a momentary welcome and shock, terms the declaration as signifying victory for all the people who have cried for democracy.

In an attempt to tarnish his luster, the opposition characterizes No Tae-u's "29 June declaration" as a black mark on the part of the democratic citizenry. Nevertheless, we should think that there is still turbulence within the ruling camp itself.

There are many hurdles that No Tae-u, the politician, has to overcome. The three Kims in the opposition camp are the "master politicians" who have gone through hell and high water, and No is an "amateur" compared with them.

At the 23 August party Central Executive Committee meeting and at the 10 September meeting of party chapter chairmen which took place immediately before his departure for the United States, No raised his voice to remonstrate the committee members and chairmen. Those were the occasions which were indicative of his frustrations.

Pounding the table, No angrily shouted: "This is precisely where the rumors originated that the election might not be possible after all or that the military might step in. You are the ones who should with confidence foil such rumors, but you acted as you did." That was an expression of his complaint about the inner party atmosphere of failing to fall in line with his determination to put his "29 June declaration" into practice.

Needless to say, it is a fact that the key government posts are staffed by personages who come under No's influence. But there is a body of opinion that it will be necessary for him to free himself from the "shadow" of President Chon Tu-hwan while preventing the possible intraparty disquietude over the transfer of power. That is why No must feel as if he is a stunt man.

Some people in the ruling camp have begun to say that "Now is the time for No himself as party president to find a way out of the difficulty instead of pondering how the president can help him." Their logic is this: if the "29 June declaration" was aimed at expanding his base of mass support, No should have practical power in order to receive not only the votes of the ruling camp but also those of the pro-ruling party forces.

True, there are some signs of weakness that his power base might not be solid. But within the ruling camp, there have emerged virtually no active forces against him, nor has there been any active expression of opposition to him. To be sure, this is his strong point, and this is attributable to the background of his upbringing, the process of his character formation, and his style of organizational operation.

#### 'Ordinary' But Precise Mediator

41070001 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
22 Sep 87 p 3

#### [Text] Experience as ROTC Instructor

It will be necessary to examine his past in order to learn more about the political style of DJP President No Tae-u who has thrown his hat in the ring for the presidential race.

No has a short history of public appearances in his political career, and much of his life is still hidden in a veil.

He was born in a farm village at the foot of Mt. Palgongsan near Taegu and has risen to the position as a presidential candidate at the age of 55.

The decisive momentum for his becoming widely known to the public was the series of events leading to the birth of the Fifth Republic, namely, the "26 October" event, the subsequent "12 December" event, and the May 1980 event.

However, No himself traces it further back to what happened in his thirties. He said: "In early 1962, I became the chairman of the 'North Star Club,' the alumni organization of Military Academy graduates from the 11th class on. In my mind, that seems to be the starting point of my path, which predestined me to be here on this occasion."

It was immediately after the "16 May" military revolution that Military Academy cadets held a parade in support of the military revolution. No, with the future president, Chon Tu-hwan, was among the organizers of that parade.

No first met President Pak Chong-hui in the spring of 1956 when he was appointed as platoon commander in the 5th Division on the central frontline. The division commander at that time was Maj Gen Pak Chong-hui.

Division Commander Pak treated Second Lieutenant No kindly, the latter being a member of the first graduating class of the full-fledged Military Academy. No, for his part, received the impression that Division Commander Pak, "unlike other corrupt senior military officers, was an upright officer." When the "16 May" military revolution was staged 5 years later, No (then a captain), with Chon Tu-hwan (then a captain), visited the Military Academy, where they agreed with the cadets to support the military revolution. In those days both No and Chon were ROTC instructors at the Seoul National University.

No's connection with President Pak is very deep, isn't it?

Yes. What happened when No was the chairman of the aforementioned North Star Club was also related to his connection with Chon. No explained: "The reason why we supported the '16 May' military revolution was that we wanted to make a clean sweep of injustices and corruption and that General Pak was an upright man. But when the four major scandals were reported, my old classmates and juniors were all incensed. That is why I, as chairman of the alumni club, made a recommendation to Pak Chong-hui, then chairman of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction, urging him 'not to permit such dreadful corruption.' The recommendation, which was couched in a tone of protest, subsequently became a big issue. Members of the Supreme Council went into hiding lest Military Academy graduates should rise up, and we were investigated on charges of counter-revolutionary behavior. I continued to resist, insisting that I would take all the responsibilities as chairman of the alumni club. In the end, the then Supreme Council chairman, Pak Chong-hui, settled the matter by issuing an order not to trample down young officers' desire for justice. Following this anecdote, I was transferred to a security unit, and without my knowing it, I became involved in 'politics,' in which I had had no interest. This is what I meant by the starting point of my destiny."

No was born in a four-room thatched house in Sinnyoung-tong, Kongsan-myeon, Talsong-kun, North Kyongsang Province at the foot of Mt. Palgongsan on September 1932, the year following the Manchu Incident. The village was poor, and he lost his father in an accident. So his childhood was beset with poverty, but the atmosphere of his home was rather bright. The articles left by his father, a former clerk of the village office, included some unusual books, a pair of skates, a record-player, a violin, and a flute—things which were not available in a typical rural village in those days of Japanese rule.

When he sings, plays the flute, or whistles a tune, he often gets a second request. According to him, he trained himself with these skills from his childhood. According to his military juniors, he had such a musical talent that he wrote his unit's song and set it to music by himself while in the military service.

His dream in his school days was to become a doctor.

After liberation he spent his high school days in Taegu, where there was an acute antagonism between the left and the right, but he had no interest in this kind of problem. Along with some 20 other students, he was transferred to the fourth grade of Kyongbuk Middle School (now Kyongbuk High School) from Taegu Industrial Middle School in 1948. According to him, he was the only transferee who was not beaten up by either leftist or rightist students. This, he said, was because "I was small in physical makeup and I was a studious type." Anyway he seems to have no interest in the difference between the right and the left. However, according to him, he revered Kim Ku alias Paekpom. Apparently, it is because of the influence of his thinking in his school days that even nowadays he sometimes quotes from Paekpom and discusses the question of the "nationhood."

### A Tint of a Sentimentalist Character

He entered the military academy because he thought he would be able to finish a college course in the thick of war. He also seemed to be greatly attracted by U.S.-style education or by the possibility of studying in the United States. However, his thinking underwent a change in or about 1974, when he became a "general officer." Those days were the era of Yusin. No said: "At that time I was a soldier, not a politician. So, I will not discuss the political errors of the Yusin era. Suffice it to say that the paramount goal set after the inauguration of the Fifth Republic was the termination of a prolonged one-man rule, and through my recent '29 June' declaration, we made clear our intention to eliminate the vestiges of the one-man rule. Nevertheless, it was of great significance that 'self-reliant defense' was set as a goal in those days. To tell the truth, it hurt our national self-pride that everything in the military, including the compilation of military textbooks, was patterned after the American style. In those days, when I conducted a class in moral education, I often told the story of the Restoration of Meiji in Japan to junior officers, with the self-reliance of the military in mind. I said to them, 'When Western medicine was introduced in Japan, Japanese samurais first glared at the foreign books for a while and then opened them only after stamping on them three times.'"

No's military career is a decisive factor in catapulting him to the rank of the presidential candidacy in the political sphere, but it seems that there is a combination of many factors which need to be taken into consideration in sizing up "No Tae-u the politician." For instance, when he gets merry over his drinks, he recites poems or plays tunes on the bamboo flute. This shows the sentimental side of his character. This seems to be an effect of his school-day habit.

But when you see him take an enormous risk, a behavior bordering on adventurism at a crucial moment, you would say he has a lot of soldier-like temperament.

When the "29 June declaration" was issued, people in some political circles said, "this is the kind of decision only a soldier can make." But when people meet him, they receive the impression that "he is not like a soldier." He speaks in a soft voice, and he does not talk much. He, himself, says "I have large ears, so I listen to others very well."

After meeting with No when the relations between the ruling and opposition parties were at their worst, NDP President Yi Min-u and KNP President Yi Man-sop commented that "he looked like a sincere man."

No is fond of saying that "it is better to have a consensus of two ordinary men than to have the opinion of a genius."

In a way No himself seems to belong to the class of "ordinary men." He seems to have a strong desire to project himself as an ordinary man. To cite an example, these days he calls for an "antidote to authoritarianism."

### Patience Is Also a Kind of Courage

According to No, while in the military service, he attached greater importance to the energy flowing out of "harmony" than to commanding his troops by "authority." When he assumed the presidency of the DJP, he removed the head of the table seat and arranged the tables in his room in a circular form. This change, superficial as it may look, is unconventional in view of the authoritarian climate that dominated the ruling party.

The adage that "patience is also a kind of courage" is No's pet maxim. His aides unanimously say that they clearly notice that he has "a lot of patience."

Some time ago when the National Assembly was in a turmoil, No said, almost in soliloquy, that "it is really hard to be patient." Asked what troubled him so much, the ruling party or the opposition, he replied, with a smile on his face, that "both of them are to blame."

### Out-and-Out Self-Control Type

One of No's most proud skills in all areas is his "role as a mediator in disputes." He is still fond of relating an anecdote about the mediatory role he played in disputes involving "Lotte," "Sakamoto," and other business conglomerates owned by Korean residents in Japan.

No assured that constitutional revision would be accomplished by agreement between the ruling and opposition parties, and failing to achieve a constitutional revision providing for a parliamentary cabinet form of government, he issued his "29 June" declaration. This is also indicative of his character as a mediator.

This character has manifested itself in his domestic life also. In view of the position that his brother-in-law, Kim Pu-tong, assumed in connection with the birth of the Fifth Republic, he managed his home under very difficult circumstances.

Now that he has become a presidential candidate, he is trying to put on "makeup." Nonetheless, most of the people who met him when he was the DJP chairman or before that, comment: "He is a gentle person, but while you are talking face to face with him, he gives you an awesome impression from time to time."

He drew a similar comment when he was in the military service. One of his classmates said: "He was not of a liberal and active mold, but his style of operation was that of observing things carefully and calmly and dealing with them with a computer-like precision."

At any rate, it may be said that the entire course of No's life, since his birth at the foot of Mt. Palgongsan till his becoming the DJP presidential candidate, is the product of his style of planning things on his own initiative and achieving the goals he himself sets.

#### **Advocate of 'Politics for People'**

41070001 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
23 Sep 87 p 3

[Text] Will He Get People's Support?

#### **'Let Us Uphold the Banner of Reform Together'**

In viewing DJP President No Tae-u as a presidential candidate, the focal point is that this is his first opportunity to appear before the voters. In this sense, his candidacy seems to deserve attention.

This will be his first participation in a direct election by the voters, in whatever form it may take.

The question is: How closely will the image of the kind of leader the voters want to choose match the image No has projected of himself so far, and the image he expects to project from now on?

In this connection, what could become the biggest issue at this moment is a "former military man."

In response to the opposition claim that the present government is a "military dictatorship," No has never directly retorted, "what makes you call us a military regime?"

In his speech at the Nippon Kisha Club during his recent visit to Japan, he said: "Concerning world public criticism of Korean domestic politics as based on the meddling of the military in politics, the criticism may be valid as long as it concerns the past, but the same criticism will not hold water as to the future."

Prior to his recent visit to the United States, he issued a statement to the youth urging, "let us hold the banner of 'reform,' not the banner of 'revolution.'"

Some time ago, No explained the significance of the "29 June declaration" in these words: "I thought of two aspects of its political significance. One purpose was to clean up all the old dirt and leap ahead onto the road which will lead us to becoming a developed nation, and the other purpose was to play a genuine bridging role in achieving civilian government."

It is somewhat problematical whether he has a democratic quality or an ability to achieve harmony and balance in the contemporary society which is becoming more and more diversified and specialized. Nonetheless, No seems to believe that his experience as military commander is an asset which he can cite as proof of his organizational and management ability as well as his leadership of a mammoth organization. According to his rationale, if he practices "new leadership" which gives priority to democracy and autonomy, there is no reason why he should be singled out as an impediment to political development simply because he was a former military man.

At the first meeting, convened after No became the party president, to reshuffle the party's executive lineup, quite a few former military men were replaced by civilians as members of the party Central Executive Committee.

His action may be interpreted as an intention to effect a considerable change in the first personnel reshuffle. Or it may be construed as the outcome of the party president's keen perception of the intense demand for "civilian government."

When he was party chairman, he tried as much as possible to avoid sitting near former military men at a conference or on other occasions when posing for photographs before reporters.

It may show that No as party president has been much concerned about what kind of political image the DJP, including himself, is projecting to the public.

In terms of the commonly accepted concept of "power," No makes a very interesting contrast with Kim Chong-pil. Kim established a considerable power base of his own as No 2 man while serving as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the chairman of the Republican Party, and the prime minister under President Pak Chong-hui rule. But he was not nominated as the successor. No likewise has successively held important military and civilian posts, such as a political cabinet post, home affairs minister, and chairman of the Olympic Committee, and chairman of the DJP. But unlike Kim, there is no trace showing that he has built his own "arteries of personal connections." Yet he succeeded in holding the position of the successor. This is a curious paradox of politics in our country.

### Aversion to the Word 'Successor'

There is an interesting anecdote concerning No and Kim. The two had a chance to meet each other following Kim's release from confinement immediately after 17 May. On this occasion, Kim reportedly told No that under President Pak's rule Kim himself had been subjected to house search on several occasions and had experienced many other difficulties.

Before becoming presidential candidate, No abhorred the word "successor." He said that it is inappropriate to use the word "successor" in a democracy.

Power is not something that is handed down but something that one creates for himself. Don't you agree?

No from time to time calls for "radical change in perception" or "radical change in thinking." This call is directed at both the inside and outside of the party, but it may be a confirmation of his own commitment.

In the final analysis, No's success as a presidential candidate will depend on how he will build a new broad base of support while improving the quality of the DJP, which is not yet deeply rooted in the masses.

It will be important how closely the party will be able to approach the middle class on political as well as economic terms while maintaining its current relationships with existing establishments.

He used the expression that "both the extreme left and the extreme right are an obstacle to democratization."

During his visit to the United States, he met with senior officials of the *Washington Post*. When asked at this meeting "how do you differ from President Chon?" DJP Chairman No replied: "When the country was in trouble, President Chon had no alternative but to use force temporarily to achieve stability. But now is the time to establish leadership to broaden democracy and self-rule on the basis of this stability."

There has been much controversy over No's visit to the United States and Japan, but in the opinion of the ruling camp, including the DJP, the gains more than offset the losses. More importantly, he expressed his intentions "in a firm voice," during his meetings with important personages, including the leaders of our major allies, and through his speeches; and a relatively detailed coverage of his activities abroad was given at home.

In his contacts with American and Japanese parliamentarians and journalists, No showed his conviction in dealing with various issues, such as the schedule of implementation of the proposed political reforms, the anti-American movement, and labor disputes, as well as

the question of the neutrality of the military, which is their greatest concern. Thus he succeeded in projecting his "democratic image" or giving an impression as a "pragmatist."

He seems to have made successful responses particularly on those issues in which foreigners have a great interest, such as North-South relations and debate on the national reunification issue. For instance, he said: "I am prepared to make the proposal that Kim Il-song be invited to Seoul to deliver a speech on television and I myself visit Pyongyang to deliver a speech under the same conditions." He also said that "I will favor the [mutual] recognition of the North and the South and be more flexible in our policy toward North Korea." These ideas are nothing more than "DJP President No's private ideas" at this moment, but they may represent a new approach.

### Flexibility in Policy Toward the North

These ideas seem to be related to the unification doctrine he is currently mulling over in his mind. According to him, the basis for achieving progress toward national unification is the recovery of national homogeneity predicated upon the "rejection of foreign influence," an encirclement strategy against North Korea through improved relations with those communist countries with which we have yet no diplomatic relations, and North Korea's voluntary open-door policy.

On the other hand, the trouble is he gives the impression that he has been pouring out a succession of new policies, including those contained in his statements in the United States and Japan, without any theoretical backup or without making full prior research as to their feasibility.

The same thing is true with "democratization." It is no exaggeration to say that the climate of the ruling camp is such that it loudly calls for democratization in one breath, and in another it still regards democratization as something like a major "concession to the people."

This may be partly because No does not have firmly in his possession a "corps of his own supporters" which can wield "power" within the ruling camp and which has some persuasive power over the public as well. The present ruling forces are torn between the need to prevent the erosion of the sovereign power and the desire to stay in power. One false step and it may end up catching neither of the two hares.

In fact, the ruling party which has the sovereign power cannot win public support by slogans alone as does the opposition. In this sense, a considerable part of No's support base remains a question mark.

Of course, the fixed pro-ruling forces, the forces who feel uneasiness about the opposition's coming into power, the regional forces in the Yongnam area may be considered as his major support bases, but the problem remains what strategy will be employed to translate them into an actual number of votes.

Another problem is how to attract "floating votes," which are neutral in terms of disposition and regionalism. There should be a fool-proof election strategy and No himself should demonstrate his mettle and ability.

### Time To Demonstrate Mettle and Ability

In the case of DJP President No Tae-u, his ability as a chief of staff counts much, but it is yet to be demonstrated.

He depends heavily on the existing key DJP organizations, but he does not seem to "fit in perfectly with" them.

That is why he tries to make up for this weakness, and as a consequence, he draws a cacophony of criticisms. As you recall, when he was preparing for his trip to the United States, he was charged with forming an "election planning delegation."

No one can ignore the strategic role played by his close associates based on his school connections and regionalism. They will have an impact on his campaign through considerable "power and influence."

An election may be a kind of "political gambling." The forthcoming election being the first presidential election by popular vote since 1971, No's campaign strategy is still at an amateurish level as claimed by a certain official in the DJP inner circle.

No has reportedly launched a "3-month operation" in order to counter the opposition's strong offensive planned under the slogan calling for an end to "25 years of the military rule," with his own offensive under the slogan of "democratic reform accompanied by stability" and thus sublimate the "29 June resolve," while establishing his image solidly among the voters in a short period of time.

DJP President No is scheduled to begin his local tour on 28 September

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### Candidacy of Kim Yong-sam Analyzed

#### Past Struggles, Successes

41070002 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
24 Sep 87 p 3

[Article by reporter Kim Chung-kun of TONG-A ILBO: "Main Player on Scene of Face to Face Democratization Struggle"]

[Text] At about 9 am last weekend, 19 September, President Kim Yong-sam of the Reunification Democratic Party began hiking at Pukhansan Mountain near Pyongchang-dong in Seoul along with about 500 members of the Democratic Alpine Club. They were dressed in colorful mountaineering clothes.

Among these climbers, there were approximately 70 domestic and foreign reporters carrying heavy camera equipment. It was the mountain climbing of the president of the opposition party which was "newsworthy."

On this day particularly, President Kim chose a path full of brush and rocks avoiding the usual hiking route. President Kim was sweating heavily and moving fast while he was climbing to the top of the mountain. President Kim and his party arrived at the top 1 and 1/2 hours after beginning. His speech of greeting was as follows: "I hope all of you, who were in the vanguard of the struggle for constitutional reform, will assume the role of tractors in order to pull down the long military rule and establish civilian government, thus opening up an exciting political era."

In response to this, the Democratic Alpine Club members who consider themselves the advance guard of President Kim's presidential campaign made "a firm loyal commitment" in the midst of cheers and applause.

This day's climbing reminded one of President Kim's beginning the climb up the "high ground of great power." However, President Kim was not completely optimistic this day. While he was climbing among the rough rocks, he may have been considering the difficulty of achieving a single presidential candidacy between him and Adviser Kim Tae-chung.

At 11 am on 21 September, 2 days later, President Kim had a closed-door meeting with Adviser Kim Tae-chung alone in the president's office of the Reunification Democratic Party headquarters in Chungrim-dong, Seoul shortly after an expanded executive meeting.

During this meeting which continued while people in and out of the party waited with mixed emotions, President Kim finally succeeded in getting an agreement from Adviser Kim Tae-chung to "finalize the single candidate issue before the end of the month." Someone said that "Face to face negotiation is President Kim's forte."

After the meeting, President Kim, whose face seemed a little bit excited, spoke. "The importance of the single candidacy lies not only in the fact that it is the most certain security for democratization but it also will achieve solidarity between the Yongnam and Honam regions which Adviser Kim Tae-chung and I represent. I think there soon will be a righteous decision by Adviser Kim Tae-chung."

If one looks at President Kim's recent movements, it appears that the single candidate issue has been resolved. However, there are also some indications that the issue can not be so quickly resolved.

Frankly speaking, President Kim's looks these days are like "the weather alternating between clouds and clear skies." For someone who was defeated by Adviser Kim Tae-chung, who came from behind to gain the opposition party nomination during the 1971 presidential election and lost his chance during the "3 Kims era" in the spring of 1980, it seems that President Kim's attitude is that he cannot let down his guard up to the last minute in this opportunity to challenge for the highest position.

Maybe, he has a complicated feeling of having taken a position with a river behind his troops. That is, President Kim has made up his mind to challenge for the highest position, and he is burning with the will to struggle for the election against the ruling party. On the other hand, he is caught up with this fatal ring of the "single candidate issue" with Adviser Kim Tae-chung.

President Kim's side argues that the equation that "single candidate - having Kim Yong-sam as the candidate" is not only a realistic choice for the whole opposition camp but also the "general trend." In light of the fact that a single candidacy is an absolute necessity in order to definitely end the 26 year-long military rule, and who can oppose this? The background of their argument is based on who were the leading players on the scene who fought against the 5th Republic government, face to face, since "17 May" in 1980. In other words, it is the logic of letting one reap what one has sowed.

The main point of President Kim's side's argument is that he has a career of fighting against the 5th Republic which cannot be ignored. In particular, the fast in May 1983 by President Kim in which he demanded a total lift of political bans and constitutional reform was a tremendous "challenge" in light of the chilly atmosphere at that time. President Kim's side interprets this event as a turning point which made people aware of "the spirit of struggle."

A series of struggles led by President Kim after the fast such as the formation of the Association for Democratic Advancement, creating a new party, leading a struggle for election, solidifying the opposition camp, the petition drive for constitutional reform, and a signboard hanging ceremony for direct elections can be regarded as

the "eye" of the political whirlwind. It is true that the ruling party and government had to revise their logic for protecting the current system each time one of these events took place.

Because of this series of struggles, one can say that President Kim, as the opposition power from the Reunification Democratic Party and surrounding camp, is at an advantage regarding the candidacy.

It is true that President Kim's scope of activities in various opposition circles and movement areas has become much larger than in 1980. One can say that the fact that he not only took the lead in the struggle but also made great efforts in forming personal bonds with others proved to be very effective.

Recently, there were actually "encouraging responses" by both Protestant and Catholic religious leaders and prisoners of conscience such as "This time, President Kim should run for president." President Kim, himself, says that "the house arrest he suffered was more painful than imprisonment." It was around February of last year that the ruling camp began watching President Kim more closely and paying extraordinary attention to his inner thoughts. This was at the time when he began a surprise petition drive for 10 million signatures for constitutional reform. At that time, the ruling camp was greatly startled at the surprise turn of events in the situation through President Kim's influence. There is a saying that it was then that the ruling camp made a judgement. Shortly after that, the ruling camp, which had been vague up to this time, identified President Kim as "the most difficult man to handle" and began to watch him.

One can see that the current situation is directly related to the struggle objective of the opposition party based on President Kim's determination that the collapse of the Yuvin system is possible. This objective is to seize political power by aiming for a direct presidential election.

Because of those reasons, it seems that the DJP inwardly regard President Kim as the most difficult rival if he runs as a single candidate from the opposition camp. Some people make the analysis that the target of the DJP's offensive will become unclear in that President Kim is a moderate and also from the same Yongnam region as the DJP President No Tae-u.

Those who support President Kim in the opposition camp regard his political color as the most acceptable at a political turning point when a transfer of power can be reasonably made without fear of political revenge or side effects.

However, even though President Kim fulfills his dream of a single candidacy, he has many more obstacles to overcome. It may not be an easy task to draw the forces including opposition activist circles which are critical of him into a united opposition front.

In particular, the task of absorbing and reconciling the forces supporting Adviser Kim can immediately appear as an extremely difficult problem.

By personally leading a so-called "election revolution," President Kim claims that he will build up a democratic society where people can "live together and live a decent life."

President Kim is evaluated as, on the whole, as a born politician with an excellent political sense and an accurate judgement of situations. Once a decision is made, he is known to proceed with tremendous force.

On the other hand, he is perceived to be weak in logic. There are indications that he has a weakness in presenting logical explanations, though his perceptive ability is strong.

Even though his fighting on the frontline has been acknowledged to have played a major role in bringing about the "29 June declaration," there is a perception that his somewhat "weak" image and relatively less agonizing fighting experience will appear as problems.

President Kim has a harmonious, honest, and kind image, but gives the impression of lacking the qualities of firmness and determination.

However, President Kim's colorful political career experiences, such as having been the youngest member of the National Assembly, two times spokesman for the first opposition party, five times floor leader, and three times party president, forms a very valuable political asset that no one can compete with. As has frequently been quoted by President Kim himself, "No other knowledge is more certain than experience."

He is evaluated as excellent in organizational management and is said to have an ability to gather people around him together at any time and any place.

That is the reason why his support organization has the characteristic of being loyal and of having no betrayers or seceders. Maybe it was because he was in a relatively favorable political location that he was able to value and praise those close to him....

Along with that, it is the general view that he is not behind anyone in raising political funds, so necessary for an election.

In connection with this, President Kim himself once said in an indirect way "I found that the fact that I went to Kyongnam High school and Seoul National University has been a great help throughout my life."

President Kim was born in the Year of the Dragon, and the Chinese characters of his name are interpreted as "one can meet the golden ray after swimming across three waters." If one believes that interpretation, it will be difficult to determine which of those frustrations, such as his defeat in the fourth general election, his failure to gain nomination in the 1971 presidential election campaign, his removal from the National Assembly in 1979, and the "frustration" of the spring of 1980, is represented by the three waters. However, if he passes through the gate of the single candidacy issue, I believe that he would have definitely crossed over the third water.

That means that the single candidacy issue is the biggest obstacle that he is currently facing in order to look forward to "the high ground of the highest position."

#### Man of Principle

41070002 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
25 Sep 87 p 5

[Article by reporter Kim Chung-kun of TONG-A ILBO  
"Parliamentarian Who Does Not Concede 'Principle'"]

#### Reciting Bible When in Trouble

Whether he is joyful or sad, especially when he needs to make a difficult decision, Reunification Democratic Party President Kim Yong-sam recites the following Bible verses: "Fear thou not; for I am with thee: be not dismayed; for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness." (Isaiah, chapter 41, verse 10)

Even though President Kim always meets many people and asks for advice, he seems to consider this Bible verse as his "closest companion." He is said to have read this Bible verse more than several dozen times a day when he gnashed his teeth with rage and frustration when he was removed from the National Assembly in 1979 and put under a long house arrest after "17 May" in 1980.

It seems the Bible always sits on the right stationery chest in President Kim's study; the pages of this verse are dog-eared.

President Kim, whose grandfather was a Christian, currently serves as an elder of Chunghyon church and all of his family are Christians.

President Kim himself frequently says that "My fast for 23 days in May 1983, which revived the activities of democratization in this land, could not have been possible without religious strength."

It seems that his fast in 1983 not only had a social and political impact at that time, but also provided him with a turning point which definitely opened up a path of new dimensions for him as "Kim Yong-sen, the man" and politician. He himself has been saying that "he can empty his mind without any fear or desire" since that fast.

### High School Soccer Player

President Kim says that he also learned many truths since he began mountain-climbing with his "democratic comrades" since his high school days. He often mentions that he mastered the confidence of victory and the importance of health, patience, courage, and cooperative spirit. He exclaims: "What a profound truth you can find from a mountain! That is, you can look back on the path you have taken while resting and no matter how joyful it is to reach the top of the mountain, you still have to come down right away."

Those close to President Kim say that he has changed much more since the 1970's than before. They say that he makes them feel that he has reached a certain stage of political maturity along with his personal maturity.

In fact, President Kim, before that time gave people an impression of being "ignorant of the world" or "a little easygoing" as his boyish looks indicate.

It is because he was born as an only child of the owner of a fishery in Koje and as a result, he never had to worry about money. He was elected as a member of the National Assembly at the young age of 26. Since then, he continued to build a colorful political career.

Even though he entered political circles with great ease like a lucky child, it is true that he has become a "politician of struggle" in the midst of misfortune and hardship since he began advocating the "theory that people in their forties should carry the banner" in 1969. As a result of his dreams of challenging for the "highest position" at the young age of 42, he has had to struggle with adversity.

President Kim went to Kyongnam High School and Seoul National University with a major in philosophy. He went into politics as secretary to Chang Taek-sang. He chose political science as his minor while studying in the Liberal Arts and Science college.

In his school days, he showed talent in various sports. He was a member of the soccer team of Kyongnam High School, playing left half, along with other team members such the late Mr Kim Tack-su (former floor leader of the Republican Party), playing center half, and former Minister of Justice Cheng Chi-kun playing left fullback. His school alumnae remember him as being firm in every aspect, though small in stature. He is said to have been

somewhat sentimental, so that he wept through the night, touched by such novels as *Soul* and *Love* by Yi Kwang-su, *Crime and Punishment* by Dostoyevski, and *Resurrection* by Tolstoy.

Those close to President Kim boast that he has the image of a leader, most resembling that for a democratic society, in terms of career, education, and personal background. First of all, a systematic school education is considered to be a basic requirement. However, in addition to that, they perceive that President Kim has been well educated in a "democratic civil education" since he remained close to his fellow citizens throughout his life.

People frequently say that President Kim has a bright, friendly, and candid personality.

His eyes seem smiling, but on the other hand, they can be very sharp as well.

On the other hand, some people say he is "timid."

President Kim has said that "Although I believe in the parliamentary system in which one can have a dialogue with anyone, I do not concede in matters concerning principle. I regard righteousness and honesty as the virtues of politics." It seems that is why he considers the saying "There is no single gate to the great way," as a principle to live by.

President Kim is said to greatly detest "politics without principle" and regard it as a sin. There is an episode that when he was a freshman first term National Assembly representative, President Kim angered President Syngman Rhee [FBIS] by saying that "Dr Rhee, you should not continue to serve as president," when the Liberal Party at that time was proceeding with a constitutional reform which allowed three presidential terms for President Syngman Rhee.

### Evaluated as 'Iron Man'

The fact that he persistently refused various behind-the-scene "conciliatory gestures" by core political leaders in 1979 when he was removed from his National Assembly seat following the request of a temporary change of party presidency also seems to demonstrate that aspect of President Kim's political code that honors "principle," and this is well known now. When he was leaving the National Assembly building where he had served for the past 25 years, he held a farewell press conference and declared "I do not choose the road of eternal death in order to stay alive for a short time, but the road of eternal life although I may appear dead for a short time."

At that time, he said "I will give the historical meaning of Mt. Choltu to the reckless act of my beheading by the administration of the Republican Party." (Translator's note: Mt. Choltu, which literally means "beheading

mountain," was the site of a public execution of foreign missionaries during a persecution of Christians in the 19th century). Only 22 days after that, the "26 October incident" took place.

Even though he always has a smiling face, he does not necessarily seem "gentle" in political areas. When President Kim was put under house arrest shortly after the Yusin era, he showed his firm aspect by quitting in just one day his heavy drinking and smoking habit of 5 to 7 packs of cigarettes per day.

It shows his strong determination.

When a group of Protestant ministers questioned President Kim by asking "Are you not going to end up yielding your presidential candidacy because you have such a gentle and docile personality?" he smiled and reminded them, "It is true that one should live in a gentle and docile way, but I was stronger than anyone when I had to be as far as politics is concerned."

Some people evaluate President Kim as "a man as soft as cotton and at the same time as strong as iron" referring to his career of struggle against the Yusin system during which time he cried out, "Even though one wrings the neck of the rooster, dawn will still come."

President Kim sometimes confesses that he "lacks precision and is poor with figures" in his daily life.

He always hangs his late mother's faded picture at his bedside. He jogs every morning and makes a greeting phone call to his father (the elder Mr Kim Hong-cho, age 78) living in Masan between 6:50 am and 7 am when he finishes his jogging. His mother was shot to death by a spy dispatched by North Korea on 25 September shortly after the "19 April revolution."

President Kim cherishes the moment when "Mr Carter was embraced by his mother in his hometown when he stepped down as president of the United States," as one of his most touching moments.

President Kim says "I believe in the saying that 'politics is just and a road that a righteous man takes.' I also dearly cherish a political ideology which makes people secure and which governs least to the extent that people do not realize whether it exists or not."

President Kim interprets "politics" as "obeying the will of the people" and adds that "As politics originally is a struggle, it also is a limitation of struggle, thus acknowledging the 'two-sidedness' of politics." That means that he does not exclude compromise. President Kim is said to favor the style of Mr Cho Pyong-ok, which follows a firm line, and to admire the courage of John F. Kennedy. He is also said to have been deeply influenced by

Ghandhi's spirit of non-violent and peaceful struggle especially during that time when he has been struggling hard against enormous dictatorial authority since the Yusin era.

President Kim considers honesty as the prime virtue for a political leader and emphasizes it by saying that "One can deceive others temporarily but not permanently, therefore, one cannot achieve a great task with lies."

#### 'I Will Conduct Healthy Politics.'

He is said to detest those people most who break their promises and change their words. He tries to put truth in his words. In fact, he is well known as a man who keeps his promises.

President Kim says he is neither an optimist nor a pessimist. He says he just looks like that because he needs to show his comrades a "strong and firm determination" in order to lead them and fight against dictatorial government.

President Kim listens to many people and he incorporates their remarks into his own if he finds it suitable to him. He also possesses the "skill" of making a flat rejection of a question that is hard to answer by saying "That is rubbish."

Those things in his daily life that are worth noting are the fact that he is very diligent even in small things and very devoted to maintaining good health. He is faithful to his health principles which include eating in small amounts and the belief that "You can borrow head (knowledge) from others, but not health." When one sees President Kim dressed in short pants, one notices that his body is strong and muscular.

President Kim, therefore, vows that he will conduct "healthy politics" with his health as a foundation by listening to the people's voice regardless of their time and location when he fulfills his great ambition.

#### 'Silent Majority' Support

41070002 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean  
26 Sep 87 p 3

[Article by reporter Kim Chung-kun of TONG-A ILBO: "Silent Majority Is Key To Victory in 'Decisive Battle'"]

[Text] All that a political leader needs to do is assign the proper person to the proper place and create an environment such that everyone can develop his potential to the maximum. The president of a country should give up any idea that he will lead all the people by himself. In economic areas, he should not insist on urging such unconditional measures as designating one corporation to engage in the heavy chemical industry and asking one company to merge with another. He should rather leave

it to the autonomy and creative will of corporate people. The essence of politics is to create an atmosphere where everything can flow as freely as water.

Even though this phrase that President Kim mentions frequently is a very common sense comment, one can say that it signifies his own "plan." President Kim holds common sense and experience more dearly than any certain academic or logical system.

In fact, all aspects such as managing organizations or using people seem very ordinary at first glance. He seems to think that he has to only direct the main trunk and set up a principle.

### Clear Order Between Ranks Within Organization

In spite of that, the organization led by him has the merit of a well established order between ranks and a strong cohesive force. It is a common thing that people belonging to various factions in opposition circles call their bosses "Mr so-and-so" in their absence. However, people belonging to President Kim's faction always refer him as "our Mr President."

Some people interpret that phenomenon by saying that "It is because President Kim is so stern as to be cruel in organizational management."

One case occurred when Vice President Kim Tong-yong, who is a core leader within the Kim Yong-sam faction, was serving as floor leader of the NKDP. For some unknown reason, the-then-adviser of the NKDP Kim Yong-sam scolded Mr Kim Tong-yong in front of many correspondents, in a way which was so severe that one felt uncomfortable in their company. Mr Kim's face turned red and he went out with a very sullen look. Then President Kim changed the mood and said "There is no person as good as Tong-yong. You would not know how hard the job is for a floor leader. Mr Kim is performing very well." That showed his cherishing of his subordinates, even though he blamed them when he had to.

He also has such magnanimity that once he entrusts someone to work on something, he trusts him all the way to the end.

People say that President Kim is "excellent in political determination and choosing political timing." People around him perceive that he can have such surplus energy of determination because he manages to empty his head and heart as far as small and detailed work is concerned.

In fact, one can get the impression from President Kim that he sometimes looks like a reckless "political gambler." There are many occasions when he daringly had challenged and vigorously pursued tasks that seemed impossible to ordinary people. Such challenges, by the way, have hit the mark and brought about a change in most cases.

### Enjoying Listening to Others

President Kim is evaluated as having an excellent "political sense" because he enjoys listening to others. Those close to President Kim say that "If one uses an analogy from the game of Go to show President Kim's determination, his playing is as if he already had planned his moves from the beginning stage of placing stones to the final stage." They say that it is because he "accumulated experience" by having worked half of his life in the political frontline after committing himself to the political arena since his youth.

As President Kim himself put it, it is because of the invisible support of many people. In fact, he rarely eats by himself. He has a style of meeting as many people as possible and listening to the "voice of the world." On such occasions, President Kim not only makes a great effort to keep the words of those people in his mind, but also the "sense" that they feel, which provides a good guide for situation analysis and judgement when those are gathered and combined.

From the viewpoint that the political plan of the 5th Republic had "exclusion of the 2 Kims" as its fundamental principle, one can say that President Kim along with Adviser Kim Tae-chung had overcome this principle by facing it personally. President Kim smiled bitterly saying that "In a society where people live, how can there be a 'new man' or 'old man'? It was silly behavior that those people denied rational principles..."

As President Kim, who has been elected for a record seven terms, boasts that he is the "living witness of Korean parliamentary history," he has left a large footprint on the history of the opposition party. In particular, his "theory that people in their forties should carry the banner" became a turning point which resulted in a generational shift in the opposition party and in the formation of a vital force.

President Kim even now makes the self-analysis that "The theory gave the sluggish atmosphere of our opposition party hope and a 'sense of spirit to challenge the possibilities.'"

In connection with this, there is a bitter experience for President Kim. When there was a competition for the presidential nomination of the opposition party in 1971 as the fruit of the "theory that people in their forties should carry the banner" which was introduced by him, he was defeated by Adviser Kim. After he finished his last supporting speech for candidate Kim Tae-chung in Asan in Chungnam Province, he is said to have cried, with blankets over his head, at his headquarters.

In light of the fact that he has to compete again with Adviser Kim for the same high ground 16 years later, one can feel that there is a "fatal" relationship between these two people.

At any rate, could you tell us about President Kim's attitude regarding the presidential election and his election strategy?

### Aiming at the Class Which Desires Security

President Kim recently made this remark. "The DJP candidate's popularity seems to go up a little bit now, but we do not have to pay too much attention to it. Once we enter the election campaign, the true direction will be decided and the votes will turn to that direction." He was certain of the Reunification Democratic Party's victory, adding this qualification: "If the single candidacy issue can be resolved."

However, in connection with the single candidacy issue, there have been some ugly scenes in the competition between the camps of the two Kims, which is becoming more and more intensive. They should seriously think about the damage to the image of the opposition force caused by such behaviour.

If this unsavory situation deepens, they can cause fatal wounds even if the single candidate issue has been resolved. Once disappointed people turn their backs, there can be no panacea.

President Kim's staff, who are preparing for a decisive battle, currently keeps busy developing election strategies which suit President Kim's political style. One of the election strategies of President Kim's faction is to make him stand out as a "leader of determination" who led Korean political history rather than a leader who has suffered and has been persecuted. They are trying to focus on an aggressive, positive, and bright image rather than on a tragic and dark image. Their strategy is to aim at people whose status make them desire change and security at the same time.

That story is related to the support group of President Kim. President Kim's camp vows that they have the support of the "silent majority" who do not want to act openly.

For example, they say they have very wide support among middle class salarymen and self-employed businessmen. They also regard a large number of small-and-medium size businesses which are far removed from political privilege as their friendly forces.

They seem to have strong support from non-extremists among highly educated groups and student circles.

Basically, the regional loyalty of the Yongnam region will also have a big influence and will yield an important 'force.'

President Kim reacted very angrily at the common criticism of the opposition party's lack of any policies, which suspects the opposition party's capability of

assuming power. "Was there any experience or philosophy when Major General Pak Chong-hui came to power or when the incumbent government was launched?" President Kim says "The Reunification Democratic Party is a legitimate party because it has 40 years of political experience." He further added that "If the opposition party applied itself only to preparing a policy alternative in the situation when democracy was being crushed to death, the focus of struggle might have been blurred."

President Kim said that "There exist numerous difficult tasks of change and reformation which have accumulated in various corners of our society. However, these tasks should be undertaken gradually according to their own order and tempo." Therefore, he intends to reinforce his logic regarding political and social development during the election period.

The first objective of President Kim's election campaign is "to build a society where a man of integrity and honesty can live prosperously." They also regard eradication of corruption as an imminent first objective.

### His Favorite Chinese Calligraphy Is 'Overcome Difficulties of World and Open up Great Way'

In addition to these points mentioned above, brains at the Institute for Study of National Issues, which is almost equivalent to President Kim's primary election countermeasure headquarters, set up the following five-article catch phrases in connection with enhancing President Kim's personal image: a leader with the thorough normal training of a democratic citizen, an honest leader who keeps his promises, a leader with a strong sense of action and responsibility, a rational leader with dialogue and compromise, and a leader with belief and determination. President Kim's camp keeps silent about a specific campaign strategy and says only that "It will be a big political feast."

As far as election campaign organizations are concerned, there are several other organizations besides President Kim's formal faction within the Reunification Democratic Party. Among them, the Democratic Alpine Club, which was formed after the fast in 1983, took the role of the vanguard. It has grown into a nationwide organization with 40,000 members. It plans to increase its membership to 100,000 before the election campaign.

President Kim's favorite Chinese calligraphy is "overcome difficulties of the world and open up the great way." To President Kim, who has set off on the road to the highest office, this has an increased meaning.

**Question of Kim Chong-pil's Presidential Candidacy Explored**

41070252 Seoul SINDONG-A in Korean  
Sep 87 pp 264-273

[Article by political reporter Kim Chung-sik of TONG-A ILBO]

**[Excerpts] "I Would Like To Lay a Foundation for Democracy."**

Will "JP" (a nickname of Mr Kim Chong-pil) run for the presidency? He himself is taking a consistent position in the form of Zen-style questions and answers. In spite of the fact that he announced his return to politics by saying "I do not want to die until laying at least one cornerstone for the democracy of this land," he says only that "it will be known sooner or later," when asked whether he would ultimately seek the highest office.

Striking rumors recently drew the attention of political circles after JP made strong politically oriented trips to local districts. It is said that several key leaders of the current administration met with JP and advised him to give up his candidacy fearing the possible dispersion of votes for the ruling party. A plausible rumor has it that JP strongly rejected the idea on the spot by saying "I am very much aware of the fact that it would be very difficult to succeed even if I became a candidate. However, I am just dreaming of leading a wonderful opposition party in the coming period. Therefore, do not interfere."

On 6 August, I personally asked JP about that incident at his Chonggu-dong residence. His answer was, in short, "It is not true." I replied by asking whether smoke rises from a chimney where there is no fire, and whether he had heard of such a rumor from his aides.

Then he replied in his unique style of speech like that of a Zen Buddhist monk. "There is an expression in Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' that a lie, if repeated over and over again, can become a truth. I think somebody made up that story. Furthermore, that part where I replied such and such is not my style, is it?"

There were several visitors in his house at that time including Professor H and retired General Y who had contributed to Yusin. Their concern also centered around whether JP will make an announcement to run for the presidency and if so, when it will be. As JP was consistent with his vague reply of "Let's wait and see" somebody asked:

The DJP is choosing No Tae-u as a candidate and the opposition force is trying to pick one candidate between Mr Kim Yong-sam and Mr Kim Tae-chung. However, there is a great possibility that it will turn out to be a 3-way struggle. If so, first, I feel sorry to mention this regional sentiment, but it will become a confused fight between Kyongsang Province and Cholla Province. But

President Kim [translator's note: refers to Kim Chong-pil's former position as president of the Republican Party] has strong support in Chungchong Province. Second, Mr No stands at the extension line of the current government and the two Kims also have negative factors along with their clear positive images. In that regard, is it not worth trying for President Kim? Is it not worthwhile considering the middle class support which the Republican Party had brought forth? Furthermore, his family name is also the most popular—Kim....

JP laughed at it. "Do you run for the presidency just relying on luck? There are many Kims these days besides me. I hear some people who embezzled money from Representative Im are also named Kim."

Visitors also tried to irritate Mr Kim's nerves. Someone said that he had visited Los Angeles and heard Korean residents showing antagonism toward Mr Kim saying "I hear JP resumed his political activity. It seems very bold for him to do that. Did he ever fight or go to prison? Is it not like relaxing while others are preparing food and then coming to the table after the food is all ready?"

Even to this remark, JP showed a disinterested attitude, saying "Is it only to that degree? There are a lot more people like that and they talk a lot more severely. I am very much aware of that." He seemed to indicate that such an evaluation of him was very real. However, he added one word.

"Nowadays, people seem to believe that democratization will be over simply by reforming the constitution and electing somebody as president. It is not so. This is the beginning. Democracy does not start in one day. There will come a time for me to tell everything. Everything needs a time to ripen. Therefore, it would be unwise to open the cover before that time. Let's wait."

In his career and personal history, we can see the core of his life was developed along with the honor and disgrace of Korea's longest-lived political party, the Republican Party. JP had an inseparable relation with the Republican Party, which had been acclaimed as having laid the foundation for Korean style success in the economic area, and which cannot avoid being criticized for having established the disgraceful political precedents of the first military coup and the Yusin constitutional revision which allowed a 3-term presidency.

Since he led the first Republican party organization meeting on the 4th floor of the Samyong Building located behind the Academy theatre in Kwanghwamun, Seoul on 10 January 1963, he had lived in sadness with the challenge of being "the second place runner," even when the party was doing well with national revitalization and modernization as its motto. He also had to drift in winds and clouds when the party was facing internal conflict and difficulties. And on 17 May 1980, when he himself

who began his political activity by running out of the military gates was caught by the military exercising martial law, the Republican Party also collapsed.

### Making Firm Determination To Return to Politics

Mr Kim Chong-pil at this time made a firm determination to resume his political activity which was interrupted by others 7 years ago. He declares in public that "I have made up my mind to lay at least one cornerstone for the democracy of this country, no matter what others say." He also said that "Because the ground is becoming fertile, I would like to do things that I could not do in 1980."

Why did he announce the resumption of political activity after having spent the past 7 years living in seclusion, silence and wandering abroad? How does he plan to fill the gap of a 7 year political separation? Is he trying to grasp the ground for a political comeback by running for the presidency? Or, just by running for a National Assembly seat? In what way does he attempt to build up his image while attempting to eliminate the dark clouds hung by the Republican administration? Is he trying to find his political support from the KNP, the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization, or another new political party? In order to find the answers for these endless doubts, we must examine the activities of former ruling party leaders around the time of his return from overseas in February 1986 and his cautious trips and speeches after his return.

Those former leaders of the Republican Party were spread around when Mr Kim was getting the attention of the martial law authority as someone who had illegally accumulated wealth abusing power. They include: those who are currently in the government and the DJP, those in the KNP, those in the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization, those in the opposition, and those employed in various businesses.

The KNP expressed a strong tie to the Republican Party to a degree in stating "taking over the unfinished work of the modernization of the motherland" as their party foundation slogan. In fact, more than 80 percent of its personnel including secretarial office employees were former Yusin Political Association members. Even though representatives of the new generation such as Hwang Tae-pong, Kang Kyong-sik, Kim Il-yun, Ham Chong-han who have no relations with the Republican Party were elected as KNP representatives in the 12th general election, the mainstream members among the total of 20 members, such as Yi Man-sop, Cho Pyong-pong, Kim Yong-chae, Sin Kil-kyun, Kim Kwang-su, Choe Yong-an, and Choe Chae-ku, are former ruling party members.

Among these, representatives Kim Kwang-su, Choe Chae-ku, and Kim Yong-chae have been called "a faction that welcomes JP," which argues that the KNP should seek a new path by accepting JP. These people

have been spreading the conviction within the party that "in order to maintain the party's power, they should welcome JP in their party to have him as a partywide presidential candidate."

The Fraternal Association for National Revitalization was founded on 18 December 1984 with the motto of "seeking friendship and mutual help among members and succeeding and developing the will and work of the late president Pak Chong-hui, thus contributing to national restoration." The Fraternal Association for National Revitalization has secured a relatively high level of human resources because its members consist of about 90 former ministers or deputy ministers, about 80 former Republican Party representatives, about 50 former Yusin Political Association members, and an advisory group consisting of about 20 former high level officials at the level of prime ministers or party chairmen or above. In particular, representatives who are very active such as Kil Chon-sik, Ku Cha-chan, Chang Yong-sun, Yi Pyong-hui, Kim Sang-nyon, Yi Yong-kun, Kang Pyong-kyu, Kim U-kyong, Kim Yong-ho, and Kim Ok-cha are observed as being likely to join the new party right away once JP's political activity takes concrete shape.

### Where To Find a Political Base?

When JP came back home in February 1986, it was a matter of great interest as to what kind of attitude JP was going to take toward the KNP and Fraternal Association for National Revitalization. This was due to the strong conviction that his ultimate political comeback could be made possible using either one of the two or both as a vehicle.

However, even after his return, he has been very careful not to make any noise whether he stayed home or made trips. His only public appearance was at the monthly meeting of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization. He seemed to have almost non-existent contact with the KNP. During this period, one can feel that his relationship with the KNP was getting distant.

On 26 February 1987, exactly 1 year after his return from abroad, JP participated in a luncheon meeting arranged by the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization and held his first public press conference. It has been in fact 7 years since he met reporters. The luncheon meeting proceeded by the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization members requesting JP to return to politics. JP's answer to that request, followed by questions and answers by the reporters.

"I fully understand your desire to hear an open and straight statement from me today. Some time ago, I listened to the remarks of a senior literary figure with great respect. 'Although it is true that President Pak made indelible accomplishments during the 18 year rule of the Republican Party, there are also burdens and wounds that need to be compensated. Let the good deeds

belong to the deceased and you (former Republican Party President Kim Chong-pil) take responsibility and compensate for the wrong deeds. A person can earn good judgement from himself only after he has been faithful in carrying out his original intention even in times of difficulty, and being willing to redeem himself from and compensate for his sins until his death." I can only say that my mind is heavy with such thoughts. I, too, have something to ask of you. I know that you have regrets and frustration in not being able to reveal what you have in mind because of external rather than internal factors. However, it has been more than 2 years since the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization was founded. It is time to let our voices be heard outside of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization as the true belief of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization advances. I would abstain from making any specific comments believing that you will interpret my remarks in a broad sense thus embracing my true meaning."

Later, there was a question and answer session with reporters.

—What do you mean by letting your voice be heard outside of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization?

"It means there are many people who do not know the true meaning of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization, therefore, we should speak to those outside. It also means that we should clarify the reasons for having this kind of meeting and what are its thoughts and its individual members' thoughts."

—In order to "redeem and compensate for oneself" as was stated by a senior literary figure, one should not live in seclusion, is it not true?

"Reflection and caution are necessary and one can form one's behavioral philosophy from them. Staying silent can also mean either a method of 'redemption and compensation' or a willingness to do something."

—Does that mean you will run for a National Assembly seat in the 13th general election?

"That is a jump of logic, at least for now. I did not go that far."

—I hear that neither you nor the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization denied the report that even the grass roots organizations in your home area, Puyo, have been strengthened.

"I ran from Puyo 3 times, in 1963, 1967, and 1978. There are still many people who had shared the same ideas at the time even though much time has passed since then. There is no reason to deny it, is there?"

—What is the most effective way to express the "true meaning of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization" to outsiders?

(President Chon Ye-yong replied instead.) "It is expanding membership."

—What is your opinion on the KNP?

"The KNP is doing very well on its own. If they live up to their convictions, they can contribute something."

—What would you do if the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization took a political action?

(Speaking to President Chon, laughing). "Is there such a possibility?"

—In light of the fact that the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization put such pressure on you to announce your participation in politics, your answer was too lukewarm, was it not?

"It is my view that I should give an appropriate reward to those who know me. We are not sure what kind of change the world will bring us, however, we will decide and choose the way in which such change will come. Now, 'Spring has come, yet it is not spring.'"

—When do you think the real spring will come?

"It will come when it is time."

—When are you going to make your position public so that people can easily know it?

"Even though I made a foolish reply, please regard it as a wise one. I know how you reporters feel, but please understand that there are various reasons why I spoke in a roundabout way with Zen-style questions and answers today."

—Don't you regard the current political situation as a crisis?

"I am worried as a citizen of this country. However, the responsible people are trying hard, so I am watching carefully."

—What form of constitutional revision do you think would make conditions easier for your political comeback?

"That is a question with a pitfall. I think constitutional revision should be separated from individual situations or personal favor or disfavor. If its results are designed in favor of a certain individual, it cannot last long. Now is a good opportunity because the standards of the people have risen and their knowledge also has deepened."

Letting this opportunity prosper can make a lasting foundation. Doing things in a careless and hurried manner cannot make things last long."

—From the viewpoint of your comment about the people's standards and knowledge, do you mean a parliamentary system?

"I was not referring to a specific form of constitutional reformation. Legitimate constitutional revision should guarantee that people choose its form by their fair and impartial will, thus paving the way for a tranquil future."

—Do you mean that the current situation is not legitimate?

"I do not want to talk about the present. I was referring to tomorrow. The people concerned will make a wise choice."

—Are you optimistic about political development?

"I consider everything as God's trial in the process of national development. We have to overcome this test. It is up to us how we are going to overcome it. I am not pessimistic."

—I assume your meeting with reporters today after a long time is a change and newsworthy event.

"Maybe, you still find me interesting."

### Vigorous Political Activity Since July

JP's press conference that day drew attention to the point that it was in fact an indirect statement of his determination on a political comeback. One can see his determination in such phrases as "redemption and compensation," "appropriate reward," and "spring has come, yet it is not spring."

Even though he attended many meetings before that press conference such as those arranged by the "Ginkgo Tree Comrades Association," which is an association of employees of the secretarial office of the Republican Party, the Clansmen Association for the Kimhae branch of the Kim family, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. He participated more frequently after that press conference. Even during the period following April when mobility became more difficult because of the 13 April measures, he continued to attend meetings held at various places such as Taegu, Pusan, Sangju, Kangnung, Ichon, Inchon, and Suwon.

The pace became even faster after the 29 June No Tae-u declaration. He was invited to attend meetings held in Sosan on 10 July, in Taejon on 16 July, and made public speeches in front of audiences over 1,000, which was possible because of the change in political atmosphere.

His supporting groups urged him to announce his political comeback by holding "a meeting urging Mr Kim Chong-pil to make a save-the-nation statement" in Taegu and in Pusan on 16 July and on 18 July respectively.

JP met again with reporters at his Chonggu-dong residence at noon on 23 July. That press conference was made 4 days before the "day of members" event, which could be called the 'first Seoul meeting' arranged by the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization, was scheduled to be held at Kyotong Hall in Chamsil. (This event was finally canceled due to the heavy storm in the central area.)

Even though JP suggested "to put down your pens and just have lunch together," about 30 domestic and foreign reporters asked him a fusillade of questions.

Questions were focused on when he will announce his candidacy for president, however, he would not easily comment on it. Instead, he asked reporters whether the two Kims of the opposition seemed to have agreed on one candidate. A reporter said he would expect some difficulty and asked him back "what was JP's view?" He replied as if it was "someone else's business" by saying that "I personally think it would be better if one person ran. However, if both of them want to ask for the people's judgement, it should be done that way. And I do not think it is wrong." At this point, he raised his voice and began to explain his "mortification" by mentioning the situation in 1980.

"Foreign correspondents sometimes come to me and ask strange things that they heard somewhere. They are saying that the 3 Kims fought so severely that security problems arose and such and such a person appeared. As was witnessed by some of you present here, have you ever seen such an occasion that we fought to a strange degree? You might call the relationships among the 3 Kims a competition of internal combustion. But can you call it a fight?

At that time, the people were full of hope that they would have the opportunity to judge and to exercise their rights. And in the National Assembly, the special constitutional committee was formed by an equal number of representatives from both the ruling and the opposition party and almost reached an agreement on a new constitution. The students did not raise the danger level for any reason other than that the politicians were acting indecisively without uncovering a political agenda. Were there any other reasons for their demonstrations? In spite of that, the people who appeared from nowhere one day are only criticizing our competition.

"I will put it in more detail. When the honorary president of the TONG-A ILBO, Kim Sang-man, invited us, the 3 Kims, along with U.S. Ambassador to Korea

Glysteen for dinner at the Inchon memorial center, we promised ourselves to ask the will of the people in a truly just manner. Could that have been a reason?

"I hear some people say that things did not work out because the three Kims did not restrain themselves from their fight even though they were asked to. However, I had never received such a request. I am pretty sure that the other two Kims have not met such a person," he added while lowering his high angry tone.

"In 1980, the military should not have come out. Instead, they should have done what they are trying to do at present (No Tae-u's declaration). I believe the situation today could have been different if one had created and launched a new power by raising the people's will to demand democratization. Though it came 7 years later..."

#### "It Is Not Time Yet To 'Declare'"

—I am aware that people in local areas are holding a "meeting urging Mr Kim Chong-pil to announce a save-the-nation statement." When are you going to announce your challenge for the highest position?

"I did not direct those meetings. It is true that I feel grateful for their loyalty and dedication, on one hand, and 'heavy-hearted,' on the other hand. I hear that several hundred people gather at several places. I will not refuse to attend those meetings. I will talk wherever I am needed. However, I do not think it is time yet to make a certain 'announcement.' I simply made up my mind that I wanted to pursue things I could not do in 1980. That is, I want to die after laying at least one cornerstone for democracy."

—Even though you contributed nothing to the current political situation.

"It is true that I was not involved in any direct action. I think that the present situation was brought about because of the people's will, therefore, I do not think the fact that someone in particular took the lead is important. For example, in war, we do not evaluate differently those in the front line and those in the rear, do we? Of course, I do have my personal evaluation of those people who took active action."

—Have you ever thought of affiliation with the KNP?

"I wish you would not over interpret my intention of laying a cornerstone as that of affiliation or creation of a new party."

—Today's young generation feel very rebellious against people of the Yusin era.

"Time always advances and changes. The young and the established are inevitably different ... their thinking. How to harmonize that difference is a perennial problem. I think everything is erupting now because today's politics lack such a quality. They are going to play the leading role in the next generation. It is a great task how to harmonize and accommodate them. I had an occasion to meet with them and they seemed to talk very cautiously and their thoughts also seemed very sound."

—What is your view on the split of the NKDP, i.e. the creation of the Democratic Reunification Party?

"Basically, I do not see it as a party split because it pursued the main stream which those people (the two Kims) have created since 17 May, 1980. I think it just changed its form."

—What is your prospect on the possibility of power transfer and time to lay a "cornerstone"?

"Democracy cannot be a finished product for as long as it continues. Democracy should continuously enable the people to manage freedom suitable to their living conditions, therefore, it cannot help being an unfinished product. For example, our country is in the process, no less, no more. To help and to contribute to the development of the people's living condition with free, trustworthy, and predictable politics is democratic politics, is it not?"

—What is your evaluation of the late President Pak?

"He was a revolutionary, not a politician. I think he died like a revolutionary after he led this country looking only straight ahead to make it a nation where hunger does not exist. I believe he accomplished some portion of his dream."

—In light of the fact that you praised him as a "great statesman" on such occasions as your supporting campaign speech during the presidential election in 1971, what is your intention in calling him a revolutionary now?

"In retrospect, I consider him as a revolutionary in the overall sense."

#### Style of Avoiding Making Direct Comment

Through his press conferences on 26 February and 23 July, one can say that JP said everything that he could except a direct statement that "I will run for the presidency." Then, why did he always reply in the form of Zen-style questions and answers whenever he was asked about the announcement of his presidential candidacy and, on the other hand, never denied that fact by directly saying that "I will not run for the presidency?"

Those incumbent representatives who know JP's personality well indicate that is his style. They say that he seemed not so eager to take any firm position because of the fact that there are still many unknown variables such as the uncertain political situation and because he has not found the appropriate timing to declare that this is the time.

In spite of JP's attitude, those close to him and observers in political circles share largely the same opinion, that "JP's political comeback should be considered as intended to launch his presidential candidacy." Their analysis is that, regardless of whether he wins or loses, he cannot help finding the cause of his comeback in his challenge for the highest office.

Some people deduce that there is the possibility that he would try to gather his forces by starting fresh from a congressional election in the worst case. Their analysis is based on several handicaps that he will face in case that he makes a challenge for the highest office. They are: a long political absence, a lack of a clear-cut political line as an opposition candidate, and a negative image toward the old ruling camp. To put it another way, there is no reason why JP, whose style is not to be involved in things where a prospect of victory is not clear, would launch his candidacy in spite of such conditions. However, the prevailing view among observers is that his announcement of candidacy is just a matter of time because of the fact that a congressional race be not only a weak vehicle for the comeback of a political tycoon of another era but also would make it difficult to gather his forces if he started fresh from a local electorate.

His announcement of candidacy will exert an immediate influence on the organizations of the KNP and the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization. In the case of the Fraternal Association for National Revitalization, the people concerned explain that they have already acquired memberships totaling 40,000 so that they have completed the arrangements in order to be able to compete their organization on the level of National Assembly electorate districts in 2 weeks when the time comes.

In the case of the KNP, they are experiencing some internal conflict, being separated into factions welcoming JP, favoring the incumbent President Yi Man-sop, and a wait-and-see faction. At any rate, the argument of the faction welcoming JP seemed to have substantial persuasive force within the party with their logic that the party can exist only when it is able to provide a strong candidate for the upcoming presidential election. In case things do not work out so well, they appeared to be willing to risk secession from the party.

Some observers strongly believe that JP's political voyage will not be that smooth in spite of his warming up. Even though such factors as his personal charm (for example, he is appraised as a man of poetic mind because he is well-versed in writing, painting, and the accordion).

some people's nostalgia for the Republican Party, and local "non-mainstream" votes in Chungchong and Kangwon Provinces can support him as latent forces, some "cruel" observers take the view that current politics will give him a substantial challenge and that the comeback itself could be impossible in some situations.

This pessimism is based on the fact that the DJP shows a certain self-confidence and concentration on restraining JP even though it failed to permanently force the withdrawal from the political arena of the other 2 Kims, who maintained their strength through their own struggle on the opposition political stage. The DJP was founded on the base of the Republican party and the principles of negation of Yushin and innovative initiative, thus completely collapsing the Republican forces centered on JP. Therefore, the DJP is trying to restrain JP's comeback because it considers that such comeback will cause a serious disturbance to the DJP's local organization in particular. On the other hand, another problem is that JP must take the offensive against the Reunification Democratic Party and the opposition movement. In other words, the problem is how the JP camp, which portrays itself as the principal party of Yushin, can establish a base in the atmosphere of national democratization which was formed by the opposition which engaged in street politics and was engulfed by tear gas. The JP camp strongly defends itself by saying "We too have a very zealous support group." However, whether the JP camp can effectively face the logic of the opposition camp, which cries for "the end of 26 years of military rule," must be an unknown factor. Those who are close to JP, and JP himself are not unaware of these difficulties. JP himself feels more proud than anyone else of the fact that he has an acute awareness that people these days commonly criticize the Yushin era and the Republican administration. He showed some of his strategy by these statements: "The evaluation of Yushin may change." "People these days do not necessarily hope that a certain person should become president; what they hope for is not the personification, but the institutionalization of power." "I read the people's minds in the June incident; the people's mind was that although they could have destroyed the present government, they wished to correct it gradually."

At any rate, JP's entering an all-out fight is now a matter of time. No one can predict what kind of political result will be brought about by his decision to submit to the people's judgment on his own life and the merits and demerits of 18 years of Republican government. JP is trying to choose the correct timing while observing the movements of the No Tae-u, Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam camps and the flow of the student and labor situations.

**Prominent Figures Forming Antileftist Group**  
*SK110235 Seoul SEOUL SINMUN in Korean*  
*10 Oct 87 p 1*

[Text] It has been learned that some 20 figures representing various walks of life, including former National Assembly speaker Chong Il-kwon, former National Assembly members, former cabinet members, retired generals, former diplomats, and Christian ministers, are now pushing ahead with their plan to form an organization tentatively called the Federation for the Safeguarding of Freedom and National Salvation [FSFNS].

The promoters of the organization elected former house speaker Chong Il-kwon to preside over the organization and agreed to hold a large reception with some 3,000 guests at 1800 on 19 October at the Hyatt Hotel in Seoul to launch the organized movement.

In a letter of invitation sent to the guests who are invited to participate in the reception on 19 October, the promoters, claiming to fight off those espousing left-leaning ideology, defend the liberal democratic system, and to inculcate anticommunist consciousness, declare: We can hardly suppress astonishment and indignation over the fact that some elements have espoused left-leaning ideology by taking advantage of the chaos generated by the process of democratization and North Korean assertions are actually being openly shouted. We are determined to resolutely oppose left-leaning forces of any form and actively struggle to make conditions impossible for any organizations cooperating with North Korean communists for a reunification strategy under the cloak of democratization to live in our country.

Following is the name list of the promoters:

Chong Il-kwon, head of the organization and former National Assembly speaker; Kang Yong-hun, former Korean ambassador to the United Kingdom; Kang Yong-kyu, former Korean ambassador to the Philippines; Kim Yong-kwan, former chief of naval operations; Kim Sang-pong, former president of the Korean Veterans' Association; Kim Yu-nam, director of Tanguk University Institute of for the Study of Soviet and Chinese Affairs; Kim Chong-myon, Christian minister; Kim Hui-chong, former president of Sisa News Agency; Mun Hyong-tae, former chief of staff of the ROK Army; Mun Pong-che and Min Ki-sik, former chairmen of National Zssembly Defense Subcommittee; Pak Kyong-won, former minister of home affairs; Pak Pyong-pae, former National Assembly member; Pak Tae-won, former governor of Kyonggi Province; Sin Hak-chin, former surgeon general; Sin Hyon-chun, former commander of the Korean Marine Corps and former Korean ambassador to the Vatican; Yi Min-chae, former dean of Kangwon College; Yi Yong, former governor of Kangwon Province; Yi Chung-whan, former National Assembly member; Chang Song-hwan, former chief of staff of the Korean Air Force; Choe Wan-pok, president of Hanguk University of Foreign Studies; Choe Yong-kyu,

former president Milk Products Cooperatives, Song Pyong-son, retired army lieutenant general; and Hwang Ho-tong, former National Assembly member.

**SOCIAL**

**SNU Announces 15-Year Development Plan**

**Basic Changes Reported**

*41070249 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean*  
*7 Aug 87 p 7*

[Text] Seoul National University [SNU] made the following announcements: It will decrease the number of undergraduate student admissions by 250 every year for 4 years from next year (1988 school year), thus freezing its number of student admissions at 3,645 after 1991. It will also extend the education period of the law school to 5 years which includes 2 years of preparatory courses and 3 years of regular courses. It will reorganize its medical school into a 4-year graduate school which will admit those with undergraduate degrees with science majors.

Seoul National University requested the Ministry of Education on 7 August to approve its confirmed "long-term plan for the development of Seoul National University" for 15 years (1987-2010). It includes: reorganizing the veterinary college into a 2 year preparatory course and a 4 year regular course beginning in the 1992 school year, reorganizing the dental college into a 4-year graduate school like the medical school beginning in the 1997 school year, and establishing 4 to 6 colleges by placing 2 to 4 departments with close academic relations within the colleges of Liberal Arts, Social Science, Natural Science, Engineering, Agriculture, and Education by 1991.

Seoul National University disclosed the following points in this plan: a guarantee of tenure until retirement age for those at the associate professor level or above, 1 year of paid vacation for professors who have taught 5 consecutive years beginning in 1992, relocation of the campus of the agriculture and veterinary colleges currently located in Suwon to nearby Seoul in 1996, an annual research allowance of 1 million won for every professor from 1989, a guarantee of autonomy of student activities, such as the abolition of approval letters issued by professors in charge of student activity groups and autonomous spending of student activity fees.

**These Are the Main Contents**

Reduction of student admissions: 4,395 students will be admitted next year, a reduction of 274. After that, admissions will be reduced by about 250 annually, thus freezing the number of admissions at 3,645 from 1991. This figure reflects a total reduction of 1,024 admissions, which amounts to 22 percent of the number of admissions in the 1987 school year.

Allowance of research expense for professors: 1 million won will be paid annually to all professors beginning in 1989 and this amount will be increased to 2 to 3 million won by 2001.

Moving of Suwon campus: three possible sites near the suburbs of Seoul are currently being examined for a future campus.

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**Reporter Discusses Strength of Regionalism**  
*410-0243 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean*  
*18 Aug 87 p 3*

[Article by Song Pyong-uk]

[Text] While I stayed in the United Kingdom for half a year, I was greatly surprised at something. That is, the UK is one nation, while at the same time, it is not. Even though they share one king, one Parliament, and one central government, it seemed to me that, in fact, there co-exist four nations: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In fact, there are even four soccer teams for international events.

Although it is a Christian nation, there are various religious sects in each area, and different languages having uniquely different vocabularies and accents. Each region has its own educational system and even currency.

In Scotland, where I stayed, the people had a strong feeling of animosity toward England and its people, and they generally felt that they were ill-treated by the central government. Their regionalism is so strong that they have publicly demanded a separate parliament, even though they do not demand complete independence.

Not only in the UK, but also in Spain, there are serious independent tendencies in the area surrounding Barcelona, the second largest city in Spain, and other areas such as Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque region. The separatist tendencies of these areas were one of the reasons for the Spanish Civil War and the terrorist activity of Basque separatists still remains a great headache.

There are innumerable countries on this earth which have similar regional problems. The regional conflicts in these countries mostly derive from racial, ethnic, language, or religious problems.

Compared to these countries, our country is a blessed nation with virtually no elements of conflict. We are uniracial, we speak the same language, and we have no heritage of religious conflict. In spite of that, a deep and large gap of regionalism between the Yongnam and Honam areas, threatening our love for national unity and our sense of citizenship, has developed unnoticed.

Once overcome by regional sentiment, one loses one's rational judgement. Instead, a primal sentimentality replaces everything. I have experienced many embarrassing moments with some people who were very rational most of the time but become completely different persons whenever regionalism-related issues arose during our conversations.

According to a survey of university students in the Yongnam and Honam areas, 62.8 percent of the respondents indicated that regional antagonism between the Yongnam and Honam areas was serious. Also, 74.5 percent of them said that they believed rumors related to regional sentiment without any particular confirmation. If university students who are generally known to be less affected by regionalism are affected to this extent, then the general public's feeling can be easily deduced.

In fact, in political circles, people exchange groundless statements preconditioned by regionalism, such as statements to the effect that if one individual competes with another particular individual in the upcoming presidential election, the former might be successful.

Everyone is concerned about regionalism, but still resort to it in crucial situations and that tends to aggravate regionalism. The regional sentiment between the Yongnam and Honam regions is rooted in the conflict between the Silla and Paekche Dynasties and the government policy of encouraging alienation between Yongnam and Honam Provinces under Japanese rule. However, it was not a serious situation until the presidential election of 1963.

Since then, regionalism has become more pronounced, following such incidents as the imbalance in personnel recruitment and the distribution of economic development since the Third Republic, which could be described as "ill-treatment of the Honam region," the excessive exploitation of regional sentiment during the presidential election in 1971, and the Kwangju Incident in 1980. The seriousness of the situation can be easily detected by the factional division of the first opposition party which is divided into two factions favoring Yongnam and Honam Provinces.

People communicate with each other and are concerned about regionalism on a personal basis. However, once they deal with each other on a group basis, communication is shut off. Is there any way to alleviate this?

Some people argue out of frustration that the next president should be from neither the Yongnam nor the Honam regions. However, that is only a daydream in the light of the fact that all 3 leading presidential candidates of the ruling and the opposition camps are from either the Yongnam or the Honam regions. The seriousness of the problem to the extent that people can talk about it in such a way, lies in the fact that there is no ingenious plan to solve this problem.

However, I can think of several plans to alleviate this regional sentiment in light of the causes that have aggravated it so far.

First, I think that it is necessary to deal directly with the existence of regional sentiment rather than covering it up. By widely spreading among the people the notion that regionalism is fatal to national development and unity, we should be able to morally criticize those people who instigate the feelings which are its cause.

Second, along with efforts to solve the problem of the imbalance in personnel recruitment and distribution of economic development, we should also take proper measures to evaluate correctly the Kwangju Incident and to justly compensate its victims. Actual improvement of these practical problems is the first step in solving the unfortunate group psychology of regionalism.

Third, there is a view that the expansion of exchanges between the Yongnam and Honam regions, particularly

between North Cholla and North Kyongsang Provinces where regional sentiment is the strongest, is one way to lessen regionalism.

Finally, the most important thing is the role of the politicians, which should be positive rather than negative. It is true that politics so far have created negative elements which stirred up regional sentiment in order to seek immediate gain. However, now is the time to eradicate the conception of benefits derived from regionalism. Otherwise, those politicians who engage in exploiting regionalism will not avoid being criticized throughout history for deepening our national division.

The direct presidential election in 1971 is remembered as one which unfortunately aggravated regional sentiment. I feel very anxious about how the upcoming direct presidential election will be recorded in history in connection with regional sentiment.

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## POLITICAL

**Collectivism Viewed as Basis for Loyalty**  
*4110006 Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean*  
*14 Sep 87 p 2*

[Article by Kim Hong-kun: "The Basis for Loyalty Toward the Leader"]

(Text) In the document entitled "Regarding Some Problems Arising in the Indoctrination of Chuche Ideology," the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il clearly showed us how to firmly establish the revolutionary view of the leader and, while doing so, scientifically elucidated the basis for loyalty toward the leader.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and a secretary of the party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"The loyalty toward the leader is based on the collectivist view of life that life of the social and political group is the parent of life of an individual."

This proposition is a scientific elucidation of the basis of loyalty toward the leader and has a profound significance.

The leader and the social and political group are united like an organic body. No social and political group is to be mentioned without mentioning unified command and leadership of a leader; a leader cannot be conceived apart from the masses and social groups.

In this way, the leader and the social and political group are an inseparable entity. In order to explain the relationship between the leader and individuals, it is imperative that the explanation be made in terms of the relationship between life of the social and political group and life of the individual. Without a correct understanding of the social and political life entity and, in particular, without a collectivist view that a leader cannot be an individual comprised in the masses of the people, the basis of the lofty spiritual world of true human beings who are upholding the leader cannot be scientifically explained. The document entitled "Regarding Some Problems Arising in the Indoctrination of Chuche Ideology" elucidated the basis for loyalty toward the leader and scientifically clarified the basis of the revolutionary view of the leader on the basis of the collectivist view of life: that life of a group is the parent of life of an individual. This represents another great ideological and theoretical accomplishment our party has made in developing the chuche-oriented theory of revolution regarding the revolutionary view of the leader and in successfully solving the problem of bringing up communist human beings.

The thought that life of the social and political group is the parent of life of an individual is profoundly significant in that only when there is life of the social group can there be life of an individual, and that life of an individual can exist and be developed only within the entity of life of the social and political group.

The human being as a social being, in principle, can live and develop like a human being only within a society or a group. There can be no human being without a society or a group; a human being separated from a society or a group is not a true human being any more. A human being can learn revolutionary ideologies and theories and scientific knowledge only within a social group, where he is to own and utilize the productive means and material and cultural properties created by preceding generations, and to enjoy human dignity, power, and life that cannot be compared with that of animals. When a man withdraws from the human world or social group, he becomes unable to enjoy material and cultural properties of society, and also does not receive social protection or group assistance; he becomes a weak and powerless being and, after all, becomes unable to live and develop independently as the master of the world and of his own destiny. The thought that only when there is social and political group life can there be individual life, and the belief that life of the social group becomes the parent of life of an individual, derives directly from such a concrete reality as that the very life of a human being is as a social being.

Since life of the social and political group is the parent of life of an individual, individual human beings must naturally be loyal to the social and political group comprising the leader, party, and masses. They must uphold the leader, its center, in particular. Each man can closely combine his own individual life with life of the social and political group and can embody and successfully realize independence, creativity, and consciousness only by means of upholding the leader and being loyal to the leader. This means that each man's loyalty to the leader is for the benefit of himself and not for the benefit of anyone else.

The document clearly elucidates that men's loyalty to the leader derives from a basic requirement of the social and political life they, themselves, enjoy.

A man has a social and political life as well as a physical life. The social and political life is matchlessly more precious than the physical life, that is his life as a biological organism. Even when a man physically sustains life, if he is socially forsaken and loses his political life, he, as a social human being, is no different from a dead man. Therefore, true human beings and revolutionaries regard the interest of society and the interest of revolution as endlessly precious and unstintingly give up their physical lives, if it is for the sake of their political lives.

The social and political life, which is so precious to human beings, is not to be given up lightly, nor does success come naturally. It is a precious life that is to be achieved and developed only when a man becomes a member of the social and political group, establishes blood relationship with the leader who is the center of the social and political life entity, and works to strengthen that relationship.

The leader is a benefactor and teacher who gives a true political life to men in the social and political life entity, and who protects it. As a man is physically brought up under the care of his parents, so the independent social beings and true revolutionary fighters are able to efficiently be caretakers of the precious social and political life and be successful in it only when they are armed with their leader's revolutionary thought, only when they are affiliated with the revolutionary organization being led by the leader, and only when they carry on revolutionary struggle.

As it is impossible to talk about physical life apart from the parent, so it is impossible to think of the social and political life apart from the leader. Therefore, true human beings firmly believe in only the leader and follow him constantly whether for good or for evil and are endlessly loyal to the leader. This is just like the way children love and respect the parents who bore them and brought them up. If one loses one's gratitude for the leader who gave one a precious political life, and brought one up to become a master of revolution, if one fails to uphold the leader thoroughly, and if one fails to do what one should do, no one can call him a person who has the sense of revolutionary duty. One who treasures social and political life more than physical life would not change his attitude of upholding the leader even if the environment or conditions change; he would share the destiny with his leader no matter what difficulties or trials he might face. Thus, the loyalty toward the leader is an unconditional and absolute ideological feeling that derives from the sense of revolutionary duty of true human beings who treasure their social and political lives.

The document entitled "Regarding Some Problems Arising From the Indoctrination of Chuche Thought" clearly elucidates the idea that loyalty toward the leader derives from the lofty spiritual posture of those true human beings and chuche-oriented revolutionaries who seek the value of life and happiness in devoting themselves to the struggle for the joint cause of realizing independence of the masses of the people.

As taught by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-sung, man finds value in life only when his life is involved with carrying out revolution. If he does not carry out revolution and just passes the time sitting idle and eating, he is not living a valuable life. The life of sitting idle and only eating is a life in which one fails to fulfill the responsibility and roles of the master of the world; it is a life in which there is no development, prospect, and future.

Only when a man actively takes part in and makes contribution to the cause of revolutionary struggle and of independence of the masses of the people can he satisfactorily meet his demand for leading an independent life, and can he enjoy lofty pride and self-esteem.

Meanwhile, in order for individual men to take part more actively in the revolutionary struggle designed to effect independence of the masses of the people and to make contribution to that struggle, it is imperative for them to be armed with correct ideology and theory, to be equipped with scientific strategies and tactics, and to be united firmly with all members of society. All these will eventually be provided by the leader.

As elucidated by our party, the leader plays decisive roles in revolutionary struggle and construction work. Establishing an advanced thought and also arming the masses of people with it, must be carried out by the leader. Firmly uniting the masses of people into one and forcefully organizing and mobilizing them for revolutionary struggle also is the responsibility of the leader. Apart from the leadership of the leader, men cannot be united into a social group, they cannot launch activities in a unified way, and they cannot successfully carry out their common cause of independence. Therefore, in order to carry out revolution and make contribution to revolution, it is imperative for one to uphold the leader and to be loyal to his leadership endlessly. Apart from the loyalty toward the leader, the loyalty toward revolution, the devotion to the masses of people, and the value of life and happiness of revolutionaries cannot be conceived. For each individual, the height of his loyalty toward the leader represents the height of his happiness.

In this way, at the foundation of loyalty toward the leader, there lies a collectivist view of life: that life of the social and political group is the parent of life of an individual and the lofty spiritual world in which men endlessly treasure the social and political life and find life's greatest value and happiness is devoting themselves to the common cause of independence of the masses of people. Our party has creatively elucidated this scientific principle and, by so doing, has made a great contribution to developing the chuche-oriented theory of revolution to a new stage.

Today our people would walk through sea and fire in the struggle to deeply maintain their loyalty to the party and the leader with revolutionary faith and duty and to implement through to the end the policy and guidelines set forth by the party and the leader. Through the heroic struggle of our people who are set to be loyal to their party and the leader, in all fields and units of socialist construction, including the construction of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex and the construction of the Kwangbok or Rehabilitation Avenue, fresh meritorious services and miracles are being created endlessly, and our revolution is forcefully advancing along the very road of chuche. Such a burning loyalty that is being highly displayed among members of our party and the workers today is

not an entity that someone asked them to have. It has derived from a firm view of regarding the leader as the center of the social and political life. It is an entity most unalterable and absolute.

Our people, from now on, too, will deeply understand that endlessly and constantly being loyal to the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-sung is a fundamental requirement for their social and political life and a requirement for life. They will resolutely safeguard and protect the party and the leader in terms of politics and ideology no matter what circumstances they may face. They will devote everything they have to walk the very road of revolution set forth by the party and the leader.

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**Paper Explains Concept of 'People's Government'**  
*SK041030 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
1021 GMT 4 Nov 87*

[Text] Pyongyang, November 4 (kcna)—Elections to the city and county people's assemblies will be held on November 15 in Korea.

*Minju Choson* Tuesday said that election committees have been organised and the work for ensuring successful elections is brisk in all parts of the country. This is a clear token of our people's positive support to and deep trust in the people's government.

In an article the paper noted:

The people's government enjoys absolute support, unbounded love and deep trust of the entire people. It is proved, above all, by the fact that the popular masses entrust their destiny entirely to the people's government.

The trust of the masses in the people's government is noble ideological sentiments out of their recognition of the superiority and valubleness of the government.

Our people's government today serves not only as a protector of the eternal socio-political integrity of the popular masses, but also as a protector of physical life and it is a great revolutionary banner which victoriously hews the road ahead of our people's cause of chajusong, the development and prosperity of the country and the cause of socialism and communism.

That is why our people, who restored genuine human dignity and rights with the founding of the people's government and have enjoyed an independent and creative life to their heart's content under its warm care, keenly feel in their hearts its superiority and valubleness through their experience and entrust their destiny entirely to this government, considering it to be the real guarantee of their happiness.

Our people's active support to and trust in the people's government is also proved by the fact that they strive with might and main to carry on its policies, rallied closely around it.

And this is explained by the fact that the people's government is a true one which substantially guarantees the independent and creative life of the working masses.

The forthcoming elections to the city and county people's assemblies will be a signal step towards strengthening the people's government which was established by the great leader comrade Kim Il-sung and is led by our party. the support of the masses to and their trust in the people's government will be further deepened and their ties with it become closer through the elections.

**FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRADE**

**Joint Power Station Venture With PRC Revealed**  
*41100232 Seoul NAEWOE TONGSIN in Korean  
14 Aug 87 pp 1J-5J*

[Article: "Realities of the Cooperation between North Korea and the PRC in the Field of Power Generation"; "Construction of Power Plants at Wiwon and T'aep'yongman Is Underway With Joint Investment"]

[Text] (Seoul—Naewoe) North Korea and the PRC held on 5 August [1987] the 40th meeting of the so-called "Board of Directors of the Sino-Korean Yalu River Hydroelectric Power Generation Company" in Beijing and concluded an agreement on the development of cooperation between both countries in the field of power generation.

The meeting was attended by Yi Ch'ung-song, vice-chairman of the Electric Industry Committee, from the North Korean side and Chang Pong-sang, Vice Minister of Hydroelectric Power, from the PRC side as representatives of both countries respectively.

Although nothing was revealed about the concrete content of the cooperation in the field of power generation between both sides as discussed at the meeting, it was observed that the issue of completing at an early date the construction of the Wiwon and T'aep'yongman Power Stations which is now under way and the issue of constructing new power stations were dealt with at the recent meeting.

Of late the two countries have rendered emphatic efforts in the joint production of power and the construction of power stations in jointly developing and utilizing the Yalu River waterpower resources. Realities of those efforts are as follows: they have been jointly operating the plant and sharing the produced power, 50 percent for each, of the Sup'ung Power Station, which was built in 1940 [as published] and whose installed capacity is 700,000 kW, and the Unbong Power Station which was jointly constructed in 1970.

Furthermore, at the present time, the construction of the Wiwon and Taep'yongman Power Stations is under way with joint investment. The construction of the Wiwon Power Station, which is being built by the North Korean side, began in 1976. Its installed capacity of power generation is reported to be 390,000 kW.

The North Korean side announced on 1 August [1987] that the construction of this power station was at the stage of storing water behind the dam designed to generate power. And it has been urged that power generation be started before the end of the year.

And the construction of the Taep'yongman Power Station began in September 1981. The construction of the dam was completed in 1983. Generator No 1 (50,000 kW) was completed in 1985; Generators No 2 and 3 (90,000 kW and 50,000 kW) were completed in 1986; and, at the present time, Generator No 4 (40,000 kW and 50,000 kW) is being built, it is reported.

On the other hand, North Korea and the PRC, in addition to the construction of the Wiwon and Taep'yongman Power Stations, conducted a joint survey in May [1987] to explore the possibility of building two new power stations on the Yalu River. Thus, these power station construction projects are taking concrete form.

These plans of building new power stations are part of the joint projects of constructing power stations of a total of 2,200,000 kW scale scheduled to be built by the year of 2000. It is observed that surveys are being conducted to find the propriety of building power stations at the following places which have been selected as places most suited for building power stations on the Yalu River: Manpo and Chunggang regions in Chagang Province; and Huch'ang region in Yanggang Province.

"The Sino-Korean Yalu River Power Generation Company," a cooperative organization between North Korea and the PRC, is a company inaugurated in 1955 for the purpose of jointly producing power by means of utilizing water-power resources of the Yalu River, the boundary river between the two countries.

The two sides hold a meeting of the board of directors every year in Pyongyang or Beijing alternately. And, through the meeting, they have discussed problems of joint operation of the Sup'ung and Unbong Power Stations which were already built and problems of building new power stations. Thus they have maintained cooperation between them in the field of power generation.

While making emphatic efforts in jointly constructing hydroelectric power stations in cooperation with the PRC, North Korea is exhausting all efforts to build

various power stations, including hydroelectric, thermoelectric, and atomic power generation stations, in an effort to eliminate its chronic power shortage.

In the field of construction of hydroelectric power stations, the Yanggang Province Small and Medium Power Generation Complex drew up in May [1987] plans to build a total of 24 small and medium power stations in Hwangt'o, Pyogam County; Imyongsu, Samjiyon County; and Taehungdan County, in Yanggang Province; and the construction is under way with plans to finish it before the end of the year.

In addition to these, the construction of the Taech'on, Kumgangsan, Namgang, Kumyangang, and Oranch'on Hydroelectric Power Stations is under way. The construction of the Taech'on Power Station has been under way since 1981 as part of the four grand projects for remaking nature. At the present time, the first stage construction to furnish 660,000 kW is under way.

The Kumgang Hydroelectric Power Station, with its water menace as an offensive operation against the South, is of the 800,000 kW scale. It is being built using the method of changing the basin like the Taech'on Power Station. It is reported that the construction of the dam is under way right now.

In the field of construction of thermoelectric power stations, a blueprint of the East Pyongyang Power Station is being drawn with assistance of the Soviet Union. The construction of the Hamhung, Sunchon, Anju, and Nampo Power Stations is under way, unassisted.

In the field of construction of nuclear power stations, as the first of such power stations, selecting a construction site and drawing a blueprint are under way for an atomic power generation station of a total of 1.76 million kW scale with the assistance of the Soviet Union.

As described above, North Korea is devoting all its energies to the construction of power stations. It is doing so in accordance with the target of producing 100 billion kW/H electricity during the Third 7-Year Plan period (1987-93). Thus it is trying to guarantee the meeting of demand for electricity in the field of basic industries, such as the extracting industry and the metalworking industry.

However, at the present time, the electric power generating capacity of North Korea is, as of 1986, 6.11 million kW, the total installed capacity of power generation: it is estimated that the total amount of power being generated is 25.3 billion kW/H. Thus the level is enormously far from the target of producing 100 billion kW/H electricity by 1993.

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20 Mar. 1987